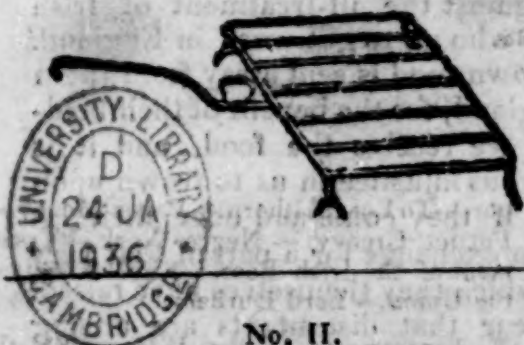


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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No. II.

TO CHARLES MARSHALL,

**UNION SOCIETY**

Of Farnham, Surrey.

Dublin, 27. Sept. 1834.

MARSHALL,

AFTER I wrote to you, the other day, about the MENDICITY, I went again at the dinner time. You know, I saw the breakfast; that is the ground oats and butter, or water, or skim-milk, (sometimes one and sometimes the other), boiling in great coppers for the breakfast; and now I went to see the dinner; and the gentlemen, who have the management of the place, showed me all about it. There are about three thousand persons fed here; and, if they were not thus fed, they must either die, or *thieve* or *rob*; or more properly *take by force*; for, in such a case, the words *theft* or *robbery* do not, according to the just laws of England, apply to the act; though they do apply, and, I hope, always will apply, in England.

I saw this "dinner." In one long room, there were about 500 women, each with some potatoes in a bowl, mashed, as you mash them, to mix with meal, for your hogs. These people go to one end of the room, and, one at a time, get their mess. There are persons to put the potatoes into the bowl; which they do by taking the potatoes out of a tub, with a tin measure, holding about a quart, and putting the thing full in to the bowl, which is then carried away by the person who is to eat it;

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and all these persons are, as they eat, *standing up* in the room, as thick as they can stand. Each, as soon as the mess is eaten, goes away; and, as there is room made, others come in; and there were about three hundred then waiting in the yard to take their turn.

There were about a hundred little girls in a school, and about as many boys in another, neither had shoes or stockings, and the boys had *no shirts*. Their faces were pale, the whole hun-

seed in Dodman's field. Yes, MARSHALL, that little chap, with his satchel full of bread and cheese or bacon; he was at the *proper school*! He and Tom DEADMAN and little BARRATT will make strong and *able men*, like their fathers; will live well, and be well clothed; and will be respected like their fathers, and be happy in that state of life in which it has pleased God to place them; and will not, I hope, listen to any fanatical man, who would persuade them, that to starve in rags, in this world, has a tendency to give them a crown of glory in the next.

In another place I saw a great crowd of women sitting and doing nothing, each with a *baby* in her arms. They were sitting in rows, waiting, I believe, for their messes. Some of them were young and naturally handsome; but made ugly by starvation, rags, and dirt. It was one mass of rags; and, not what you call rags; not rags such as you see on the beggars or gipsies that go to hopping at Farnham; but far worse than any that you ever saw tied round a stake to frighten the birds from our wheat and our peas; far worse than the Kentish people and South Hampshire people put up on a *scare-crow* to keep the birds from their cherries. And this is the condition, Marshall, *identical* the Scotch *feelosofer* vagabonds wish to persuade the Parliament to reduce the wives and the daughters of the working



people of England! while they talk of *educating* you all, at the same time! Ah! MARSHALL, these vagabonds want to give you *books*, and to take away the *bread and meat* for themselves.

In another place I saw the most painful sight of all: *women*, with heavy hammers, *cracking stones* into very small pieces, to *make walks in gentlemen's gardens*! These women were as ragged as the rest; and the sight of them and their work, and the thoughts accompanying these, would have sunk the heart in your body, as they did mine. And are the women and girls of England to be brought to this state? Would not every man in Normandy suffer every drop of blood to be let out of his body rather than see your sisters and daughters and mothers and wives brought to this state? If I were not *sure* that TOM FARR would perish himself rather than see his sister brought to this, he should not live under my roof a moment longer. And what, then, of his good and industrious and kind and tender mother! The bare thought would drive him mad! Yet, Marshall, it is my duty to tell you, that the half-drunk and half-mad and greedy and crawling Scotch vagabonds, whose counsels have beggared the Scotch working people, are endeavouring to persuade the Parliament to bring your wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters into this very state! Be on your guard, therefore; be ready to perform *your duty* to prevent the success of these crawling villains, who hope to get rewarded for their schemes for making you work for 6d. a day, and for putting your wages into the pockets of the landlords. When I get back we will have a *meeting* at Guildford to petition the king and Parliament on the subject; to this meeting you must all come; for, though the law does not give you the right of *voting*, it always gives you the right of *petitioning*; and as I shall hereafter show you, it gives you a *right to parish relief* in case you be *unable to earn* a sufficiency to keep you in a proper manner. This is as much your *birth-right* as is the lord of the manor's right to his estate; and of this we will convince the crawling and greedy vaga-

bonds before we have done. It is our duty, too, to exert this right to endeavour to better the lot of our suffering fellow-subjects in Ireland. Mr. DEAN will tell you, that I have always set my face against the ill-treatment of Irish people who go to get work in England. Their own food is sent away from them to England, for the benefit of their landlords; we receive the food, and it is monstrous injustice in us to frown upon them, if they come and offer their labour in exchange for a part of that very food which they themselves have raised.

I hear that discontents are arising again in England, on account of the *lowering of wages*. Mr. DEAN will not lower the wages of anybody. He knows that I never gave a *full* working man less than 15s. a week, though found a good house and garden and plenty of fuel. And I know that a man, with a wife and only three small children, cannot live, as he ought to live, on less, though flour were cheaper than it is now, as I hope it will be. But, MARSHALL, let us be just; let us do as we would be done by: many of the *farmers* are not able, in the present state of things, with all these taxes and monopolies arising out of them, to give the wages that I give, without being *ruined themselves*; theirs is, in many cases, a life of greater hardship than that of the labourer: they are compelled to give 8s. 6d. for MALT, which, if there were *no tax*, they would have at this moment for about 3s. 3d. They would give their men beer, they would keep the young people in their houses, as I do; but they are *unable* to do it without being ruined and becoming labourers themselves. Then the *landlords*: why should their *rents* not be paid? Not to get their rents is to lose their estates; and why should they have their estates taken away? Those estates are as much *their right* as good living in exchange for your labour, and as parish aid in case of inability are *your rights*. So that I hope that you will duly consider these things; and not conclude that, though others may not give the wages that I give, they would not do it if they could.



It is my opinion that, if flour were only 5s. a bushel, 15s. a week is not *too much* for a really *able, sober, and trust-worthy* labouring man, who has a wife and only three small children. And I never did, and never will, make any distinction between a *married* man and a *single* man. Why should I? What have I to do with the man, more than to pay him duly *the worth* of his labour? And how is the single man ever to be in a fit condition to marry, and to lead a happy life and rear a family, unless he has, from his earnings while single, the means of starting well in his new state of life? The old saying, that "when *poverty* comes in at the door, *love* flies out at the window," is perfectly true. And how is poverty to be kept out if there be nothing of any worth to *begin* with?

I have not time to write any thing more to you now. I will, in future letters, tell you the *causes* of all this misery, and you will want nothing more to make you all resolve to use all the lawful means in your power to prevent it from falling on yourselves.

Two things, I hope, you will all attend to in my absence: first, cheerful obedience to Mr. DEAN, in all things, 27 years of experience having convinced me that he will require from you nothing but that which is proper, and that nothing will induce him to do any thing towards anybody that is unjust, or *hard*. The other thing is, my hope that none of you will go to *any drinking place* on any account. You have no need to do it; when you have not good beer at the farm-house, I give you the means of having it at home with your wives and children; and therefore, if any of you should disobey me in this respect, and should set at nought the example which you have in Mr. DEAN, as well as the precept that you thus receive from me, Mr. DEAN has my full authority to act towards you accordingly.

With giving you this important precept, and in the hope that all of you and all belonging to you are well,

I am,

Your master and friend,

WM. COBBETT.

TO MR. SMITH,

AT THE PRINTING-OFFICE,  
BOLT-COURT.

DEAR SIR, *Dublin, 27. Sept., 1834.*

You will please to cause 500 copies of each of these Letters to MARSHALL to be struck off, in the manner described in my last letter. Put them up in a coach-parcel, and send them by the Farnham coach, directed to Mr. DEAN at Normandy, Ash, Farnham, Surrey. This is not giving you *trouble*, but *pleasure*; and therefore I offer you no apology. I hope that all the *unstamped* will send these letters about.

I am,

Your faithful

And most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. Put an ounce weight of each of them under cover, and direct it to our county member, John Leech, Esq., Lea, Godalming.

TO MR. JOHN DEAN.

DEAR SIR,

I SUPPOSE that the parcels of printed letters will get to Farnham every *Tuesday night*. And you must get them over to Normandy. Send about 200 of each Number, by one of the boys or men, to Mr. WHITLAW, at Compton, who I hope will get them sent to Godalming, Bramley, Elstead, *Frencham*, Seale, Hazlemere, &c. and all about that side of the Hog's-back. You will take care to get the rest sent to Farnham, Guildford, Chertsey, Egham, Bagshot, and to all the parishes round about us, especially Purbright and Chobham. Be very diligent about this. Any of the men will carry them on a Sunday, or in the evening, to such a place as Purbright or Aldershot. You will observe, that I have this matter *greatly at heart*; and therefore, I beg you to act accordingly. My native county shall not be unjust towards Ireland for want of knowing her treatment, and for want of knowing the miseries so unjustly inflicted upon her; nor shall the people of that county be steeped in similar misery by the schemes of the renegado Scotch villains,

or by any body else, without seeing what those schemes are, and to what consequences they lead. Do not mind a little *expense* in giving effect to my wishes as to this matter. If there be nobody in *other counties* to do their duty to the working people, no man shall ever have to say that that duty was neglected by

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I have, three successive nights, to numerous assemblies (consisting chiefly of gentlemen or persons of property) in this city, urged the *justice* and *necessity* of POOR-LAWS for Ireland; and, not only *poor-laws*, but *our poor-laws*; the act, and NO OTHER act. I have maintained the RIGHTS of the poor, by an appeal to the *laws of God*, and the *laws of England*; and, I have the pleasure to tell you, that I was heard with the greatest possible attention, indulgence, and kindness; and this kindness has, indeed, marked the conduct of every one in Ireland towards me.—Get all my people together, in the evening, or on Sunday, and read these letters to them; and remember me to farmers WEST and FAGOTTEN and BARRY and HORNE and to all the rest of my neighbours. And tell farmer HORNE, who, like the primitive teachers of Christianity, *preaches* on the Sunday, and most laudably *mows his barley* on the Monday, that I hope, that his cows, which I forgave so often, will not, during my absence, give way to their luxurious, inordinate, and most ungodly appetites, so far as still to covet my corn, when they have pasture of their own, and while my humble-minded and frugal heifers are content with the pickings of the common.

TO MR. WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P.

SIR,—In any civilized country where justice is esteemed, and literature admired, your character and your writings would entitle you to the highest respect and the most honourable reception. Services that cannot be too highly ap-

preciated, and that should never be forgotten, give you peculiar claims on the gratitude of the Irish people. The members of the Meath Independent Club come forward with delight to join their countrymen in hailing your arrival on their shores, and offering you an affectionate welcome.

Whilst the literary productions which have immortalized your name, impart delight and instruction to the mind, the biography of their author will inculcate on the heart the cheering reflection, that monopoly however protected, and despotism however fortified, can sometimes be subdued and broken down by individual energy, fortitude, and perseverance. Immersed in your political career, which has been to plant thorns in the pillow of corruption, up to your return to Parliament for Oldham, you have been pursued as a victim to be immolated to the Moloch of tyranny and monopoly. Ignorance of their real interests caused your countrymen to look for some time with apathy on your persecutions; but proscriptions, fines, and dungeons, only rendered the many extraordinary incidents of your life the more interesting. Curiosity gave way to sympathy; inquiry to conviction; until the nation, disabused of its errors, broke down the out works of the infamous system against which you combated, and left the names of its defenders written in terms of execration on its ruins. The Percevals, the Castle-reaghs, the Liverpools, are buried in reputation as well as in person, whilst their prisoner and exile William Cobbett lives exalted in station, and honoured in character.

The professors and ministers of a faith, for which the Irish have forfeited every temporal consideration, you have vindicated from the calumnies of centuries, and the hereditary prejudices of your fellow-countrymen. You have removed the rubbish of inveterate slanders from the pages of English history; dissipated in your own days the errors which spring from those sources of delusion, and smooth the road to that liberty we now enjoy.



When such a man comes to visit our country, in order to know the sources of its calamities, with a view of exposing them, before those who can apply suitable remedies, it becomes our duty to manifest a proper sense of his motives and objects.

With these sentiments we venture to express a hope you will honour Meath with a visit, a county which yields to no other in Ireland in esteem and veneration for the name and services of William Cobbett.

Dated at a special meeting of the club, at Navan, on the 24. of September, 1834.

### TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MEATH CLUB.

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for the great honour you have done me, in presenting to me this elegantly written address; which, however, honourable as it is to me, I chiefly value on account of the effect which it is likely to have in England, at this critical time, when desperate and half-mad and half-drunken and inordinately greedy Scotchmen are bent upon an attempt to prevail on the Parliament to adopt measures for reducing the people of England to the state of those of Scotland, who are now robbed of those Christian laws which their fathers established three hundred years ago; an attempt, which, if it were to succeed, must render the lot of Ireland worse than it is now.

These Scotch monsters of the school of the Parson MALTHUS, it is, at present, my great object to combat, by explaining fully to the people of England the means which these monsters are employing, and the object they have in view; and my business to Ireland is to see, and tell the people of England, what is the state of Ireland, what is the extent of her sufferings, what are the causes of these, and what they ought to do, not only to prevent similar sufferings from being inflicted on themselves, but what they ought to do, to rescue Ireland from her sufferings: and, gentlemen, in the performing of this my

duty, this address from you must and will give me great support.

Besides these considerations, gentlemen, I have particular pleasure in receiving this address from the county of Meath, whose sensible and spirited conduct has greatly contributed to produce the taking of the first steps towards the deliverance of Ireland from her worse than Egyptian bondage.

WM. COBBETT.

Dublin, 23. Sept., 1834.

I shall here insert: 1. The statement from the *True Sun* of the brother of Mr. W. AUSTIN, relative to the affairs of that brother. The reader will see what an affair this is; and he will also see, that this affair must come before the *Parliament*; for, this is precisely a case in which for that body to give redress.

2. I shall insert an account of my proceedings here, as published in the *Morning Register*, published by Mr. STAUNTON, to whom I owe great gratitude for his very kind behaviour towards me.

3. A letter by General Cockburn, on the subject of a repeal of the union; and my English readers should know, that, besides being a General in the army, Sir GEORGE COCKBURN is a considerable landowner in Ireland, and constantly resides on one of his estates.

4. The report of the speeches of Messrs. Attwood and Scholefield, at Birmingham, at a dinner given to them there. I insert these, not only as containing the sentiments of those two gentlemen, but as a mark of my respect for them, on account of their upright conduct in Parliament.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I BEG, that until my return to England, no one will give himself the trouble to write to me, on any subject whatsoever. A man cannot do more than one thing well at one time. I have quite enough to do here; and I will never, till I am again in England, open

any letter that shall come to me from *England*. Some inconvenience may arise from this, and possibly some injury; but, these I must submit to. At any rate, such is my determination.

### MR. WM. AUSTIN.

#### EXTRAORDINARY NARRATIVE.

SIR,—As your valuable journal is at all times open to the public for redress, and ready to espouse the cause of the injured and oppressed by any abuse of power or otherwise, I take leave to submit to you the following statement, in the hope that you will deem the same of sufficient importance to appear therein.

In the month of December, 1828, my brother, Mr. William Austin, who had been brought up by her late Majesty, Queen Caroline, from the age of four months, in every respect as her own son, but who at her decease was left comparatively destitute, went abroad to eke out his small income; and twelve months having passed without hearing from him caused great surprise in the minds of his parents and relatives, and repeated applications were made by me to her late Majesty's executors and friends, to know if they had heard from, or could give any information respecting him; but the only persons who condescended to reply were, Lady Anne Hamilton, Lord Hood, and Alderman Wood; and their answers were in the negative. Another year passed, but still no intelligence, and his family became greatly alarmed for his safety. At length in the month of June, 1831, his relatives heard that he had been and then was very ill. I immediately wrote a circular to her late Majesty's executors and friends for information on the subject, and to know to whom the dividends arising from his property were to be remitted, and how expended; but only one of the former condescended to reply, and the following is his answer:

*“ Stanmore, July 29, 1831.”*

“ SIR,—In reply to your letter I have to inform you that Mr. W. Austin is in a state of lunacy, and has for some time been confined in a lunatic asylum in Italy. The dividends are received under

my authority, and appropriated to his maintenance; for the excess of expense I have been under the necessity of becoming personally responsible. The house of Marietti and Co., of Milan, have had the kindness to take care that the best practicable arrangements be made for Mr. W. Austin's comfort.

“ I am, your obedient servant,

“ S. LUSHINGTON.

*“ To Mr. S. Austin.”*

This was the first official intimation (if I may so term it) that my family received of my brother being in the state therein described, and on receipt thereof I immediately wrote to Messrs. Marietti, requesting to be informed what steps it would be necessary to take to have my brother conveyed home; whether it would be necessary to apply to the law authorities in Italy to permit his removal, and what would be the expense; what was the name of the establishment in which he was confined, where situate, and the name of the proprietor; what was the state of his health, was there any probability of his recovery, in what manner was his income expended, what had become of the property in his possession at the time he was taken ill, and every other information in their power; to which letter I was never favoured with an answer.

Dr. Lushington having arrived in town about the middle of August, I had an interview with him on the 24. for the purpose of obtaining more precise information than that contained in his letter, and among other things particularly requested to know in what part of Italy my brother was, how long he had been in the state described in his letter, and whether he could not be brought home, when he informed me that he did not know in what part of Italy the asylum was situate, except that it was in the Austrian dominions, but that he could ascertain; that my brother had been in the condition above mentioned two years, and that he could not be brought home for less than 500*l.*, for that being in the Austrian dominions his removal could not be effected without an order from the supreme court at Vienna, to procure which would alone



cost 250*l*. I then inquired whether my brother's property could not be made available to defray those expenses, and was informed that his money was invested in the funds in his own name, therefore could not be touched, and that when he went abroad he gave Messrs. Coutts a power of attorney to receive the dividends, and remit them to him, but no power to sell any part of the stock, and said he hoped that I was not going to stop the dividends. On my return to the city I called upon Messrs. Coutts, and received similar information from them as to the power of attorney, and remitting of the dividends, and on my informing them that Messrs. Marietti had not answered my letter, they undertook to forward an application to those gentlemen; therefore, on the 26. August, I wrote them in the names of my parents precisely to the effect before stated; to which my father, through an indirect channel, received the following reply:

"12, *Size-lane*, Sept. 20, 1831.

"SIR,—We have just received a letter from Messrs. Marietti, of Milan, dated 7. September, in which they request us to inform you, in reply to your letter to them of the 26. of August, that your son is still in M. Dufoun's establishment, in the same state of health, and that to have him conveyed home, it would be absolutely necessary to bind him, besides having a person on purpose to accompany him, or the consequences would be fatal. All the things he has are taken care of in the establishment; and with respect to the disposal of his income, Messrs. Marietti have furnished accounts both to the executors and Messrs. Coutts. Over and above what has been remitted, Messrs. Marietti have advanced upwards of 120*l*., which sum is still due to them, and for which they have been long expecting remittances from England.

"We are,

"Sir, your obedient servants,

"AMB. OBICINI and Co.

"*Mr. Samuel Austin.*"

This letter being silent as to the greater part of the inquiries made in my

applications, and particularly as to where the asylum is situate, and the steps necessary to be taken to have my brother sent home, was deemed unsatisfactory, and therefore immediately on the receipt thereof I again wrote Messrs. M., reiterating my inquiries, and also requested to be informed whether, if I or either of my brothers were to go out to bring my brother William home, he would be delivered up; and if not, what obstacles there would be to surmount. I likewise requested to be furnished with a notarial or other legalized certificate of the state my brother was in, together with a list of the articles said to be taken care of in the establishment; but up to the present hour have never been favoured with an answer.

Finding that my applications to Messrs. Marietti were unnoticed, I was obliged to content myself with making occasional inquiries of her late Majesty's executors and friends, but without obtaining any further intelligence. At length my father, who had been for a considerable time in a declining state, was taken dangerously ill, and died on the 18. August, 1832; a day or two previous to which he urged and made me promise to use every exertion to have my brother brought home. On the 29. of that month I again wrote to Messrs. Marietti for the before-mentioned particulars and certificate, and hoping that if I forwarded my letter through Messrs. Coutts I should obtain an answer. I took it to those gentlemen, who promised that it should be sent; in the mean time I apprized Dr. Lushington of my father's decease, requesting an appointment to see him, and on the 20. September, accompanied by a younger brother, had an interview with him at his chambers, when we informed him of the dying wish of our father, and urged him to see what could be done; but he merely reiterated his former statement about the supreme court, the 500*l*. expense, &c.

Having waited till the middle of October without hearing from Messrs. Marietti in reply to my letter of the 29. August, I wrote Messrs. Coutts to know if they had received any commu-

nication from them, and if not, requested that they would in their next letter to those gentlemen have the kindness to remind them of my application, to which I received the following answer:

"*Strand, London, 17. Oct. 1832.*

"SIR,—In reply to your letter of yesterday's date, we beg to inform you that we have not received any communication from Messrs. Marietti relative to Mr. William Austin for a considerable time past; we will however, in our next letter to them, request they will inform us of the state of Mr. William Austin's health, and when we receive their reply we will make you acquainted with it.

"We are, sir,

"Your obedient servants,

"COUTTS and Co.

"*Mr. Samuel Austin.*"

And on the 12. of the next month I received the following note, viz:

"Messrs. Coutts and Co. beg to inform Mr. Austin, that the following is an extract of a letter they have this day received from Messrs. Marietti and Co., of Milan, in reply to the inquiry they made at his request relative to his brother:

"With respect to Mr. Austin, he is still in the same state of imbecility, and declared incurable. We have obtained a certificate from the director of the hospital in which he resides, and which we shall transmit to his brother.

"*Strand, 12. Nov. 1832.*"

But the certificate has never been received by me, nor any member of my family, and except the letter of Messrs. Obicini, of September, 1831, no communication of any description has ever been received from Messrs. Marietti. Concluding, therefore, that it was not the intention of those gentlemen to give the information I requested, I applied to Messrs. Coutts for copies of the accounts transmitted to them by Marietti, with a view of seeing in what manner my brother's property was spent; also of ascertaining why it was that during the first two years of his alleged insanity upwards of 120*l.* beyond his income should have been expended, and whether such increased expenditure was continued, to

which application I received the following reply:

"*London, 15. Jan. 1833.*

"SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 14. instant, we beg to inform you, that the accounts you refer to, sent to us by Messrs. Marietti and Co., of Milan, were forwarded by us to Dr. Lushington immediately we received them, and we can only refer you to that gentleman for any information you may require relative to the affairs of your brother, Mr. William Austin.

"We are, sir,

"Your obedient servants,

"COUTTS and Co.

"*Mr. Samuel Austin.*"

Having waited till the 6. of March following, in the vain hope of hearing from Messrs. Marietti with the certificate, and with information as to the steps to be taken to get my brother home, I wrote Dr. Lushington of the applications I had made to them, and requested to be favoured with a copy of all the correspondence that had passed between him and Messrs. Marietti or any other person on the subject, and also for copies of the above-mentioned accounts, and receiving no answer, renewed my application on the 16., and on the 18. received the following note:

Mr. Austin,—On Mr. Sergeant Wilde's return to town, who is, as you know, co-executor with me, I will make known to him your communications.

"I am yours obediently,

"S. LUSHINGTON."

"*18. March, 1833.*"

I have since made a great number of similar applications to Dr. Lushington (indeed were I to set them forth, they would swell this letter, already, I fear, too long, to such an extent as to preclude all hopes of your permitting it to appear) but without success; at length in the month of December, I received a communication from him, stating that he had sent the then last letter I had written him to Messrs. Vizard and Le-man, of Lincoln's Inn-fields, who were, as he said, better informed upon the subject, than he was, and referred me to them. I accordingly applied to these



gentlemen, and received the following answer :

"*Lincoln's Inn-fields, Dec. 17, 1833.*"

"SIR,—If you will come to our chambers, we will give you all the information we can respecting your brother.

"We are, sir, yours obediently,

"VIZARD and LEMAN."

"To Mr. S. Austin."

But so many years having elapsed, and my object being to obtain written and not verbal information, and also being unable to wait upon them except in the evening, when I concluded they would not be at chambers, I wrote them as follows :

"Gentlemen,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of the 17. inst., and to say that at present it is very uncertain when I shall be able to wait upon you, will you therefore be pleased to communicate in writing the information you suggest. Dr. Lushington informs me that he has forwarded my last letter to you, on reference to which you will see the nature of the information I wish for.

"I am, gentlemen,

"Your obedient servant,

"SAMUEL AUSTIN."

"21. Dec., 1833.

"To Messrs. Vizard and Leman."

And on the 23. I received the following note :—

"*Lincoln's Inn-fields, 23. Dec., 1833.*"

"SIR,—All the information we have on the subject you are welcome to see here, but we really cannot copy it for you.

"We are, &c.,

"VIZARD and LEMAN.

"Mr. S. Austin."

I therefore attended at the chambers of those gentlemen on several successive evenings, accompanied by one of my brothers, but without meeting them; however, on the 24. of January last, I took an opportunity of going early in the day, and saw Mr. Leman, who, to my great surprise, notwithstanding the note of the 23. December, positively refused to let me see the promised information.

In the month of February last, I again

renewed my application, by writing on the 17. of that month, separately to Dr. Lushington, Sergeant Wilde, and Messrs. Vizard and Leman, setting forth the information wished for by my family, viz :

1. The family wish to know precisely at what period after my brother left England, his insanity commenced ?

2. Where was he at the time, with whom residing, and the address of the party ?

3. By what medical person (if any) was he attended, and the address ?

4. When he was removed to the lunatic asylum where he is stated to be, and by whose authority was he so removed ?

5. Where is the lunatic asylum situate, by what name (if any) is it called ; what is the name of the governor or keeper thereof, and, what is the name and address of the principal physician or medical attendant ?

6. What is the present state of my brother's health ; is there any probability of his recovery ; has he any lucid intervals ; and to what cause do the medical gentlemen attribute his insanity ?

7. A certificate from the governor and physician of the asylum, and also from some other physician or medical gentleman unconnected with the establishment, stating the information asked after by the fourth and sixth questions, such certificate to be duly verified and authenticated by a notary public or other legal functionary ?

8. What has become of the property which my brother took with him when he went abroad ; consisting of several valuable gold watches, chains, seals, and other articles of jewellery ; one, if not two portraits of her late Majesty, his own portrait, which he sent to his mother from Italy in 1817, many valuable books, clothes, and other portable property ; is the same in the establishment ; is it in the care of Messrs. Marietti ; or where is it ? And that a list thereof may be set forth and properly authenticated.

9. Whether my brother did not, previously to his leaving England at the

before-mentioned period, deposit for safe custody, with one of her late Majesty's friends, and whom by name, a large chest or trunk, covered with leather of various sorts, and tastefully ornamented with brass nails?

10. What are the precise steps requisite to be taken to have my brother brought to England? And supposing that one or two of his brothers were to go out to Italy properly identified, for the purpose of bringing him home, would he be given up to them, and if not, why?

11. Is the income of my brother sufficient to maintain him in the asylum, is there any surplus or deficiency, after paying all expenses, and what is the amount either way per year?

12. A copy of all accounts of the expenditure of my brother's income as transmitted by Messrs. Marietti, and a copy of all correspondence upon the subject of his insanity, from its commencement down to the present time; or to be permitted to inspect such accounts and correspondence, and take copies thereof?

A few days afterwards I had an interview with Mr. Leman, to know if it was intended to give the desired information, who after treating me in a very cavalier manner, going through my questions *serialim*, and striking his pen through the greater part of them, told me that the rest should be answered, and handed my letter so mutilated to one of his clerks to copy, adding that when a reply was received I should hear from him.

I have lately written to him on the subject, and in answer he states that he has not heard. I have also applied to Dr. Lushington within the last few days, who has not thought proper to reply. I have made *many* applications to Mr. Sergeant Wilde, not one of which he has condescended to answer. I have called upon him *several* times in Guildford-street, at five in the afternoon, when I knew he would be at home; my name has been announced, the servant has brought out word that if I would attend at chambers any evening after seven o'clock he would see me; I have

attended accordingly *several* times; his clerk has mentioned me, and the reply has always been that "the Sergeant is particularly engaged, and cannot be spoken with."

I have thus detailed, as shortly as possible, and as far as my information goes, this mysterious affair, and in so doing abstain from making any comment upon the conduct of the parties in making, authorizing, or sanctioning, or being party or privy, direct or indirect, to any arrangements for placing my brother in a madhouse in a foreign country, under the control of foreigners, without the knowledge and consent of his parents and relatives; or in the authorizing the remitting of the dividends arising from his property to be expended by foreigners without such knowledge or consent, or in the keeping of his insanity a secret from his family for a period of two years; or in the withholding of information for so long a period subsequently to the letter of Dr. L. of July, 1831, leaving those who peruse this statement to draw their own inferences, but merely observe, that nearly six years have elapsed since my brother left England, that his family have no knowledge whether he is alive or dead, or, if living, where he is, except that they suppose he is in a lunatic asylum somewhere in Italy, under the care of a M. Dufoun; that they have no knowledge of the treatment he receives, or whether, if he is really insane, that such treatment is calculated to effect a cure; and beg to add, that my mother is far advanced in years, is extremely infirm, and in a very nervous state, which is greatly augmented by the dreadful state of suspense in which she and the family have been kept for so long a period with regard to my brother. Dr. Lushington is the father of a large family; I have, as such, appealed to him, and used every entreaty to induce him to satisfy my family for the sake of my poor mother, but to no purpose.

I therefore make this appeal to you, and through you to the omnipotence of public opinion, to which I hope that an Englishman will never appeal in vain, and thus publicly call upon Dr. Lush-



ington and Sergeant Wilde to give me every information they possess, and particularly to answer the questions contained in my letter of the 17. of February last; those gentlemen know full well the situation my relatives are in; they well know that I have not the means of defraying the expenses of a journey to and from Italy, and maintaining my family during my absence, or I would, long ere this, have gone to Milan, claimed the assistance of the British consul, and demanded of Messrs. Marietti, what has become of my brother.

In the hope, therefore, that you will be pleased to give this letter a place in your valuable journal, I beg to subscribe myself,

Sir,

Your most obedient

And humble servant,

SAMUEL AUSTIN.

4, Jamaica-row, Bermondsey,

23. Sept., 1834.

## MY PROCEEDINGS IN DUBLIN.

### MR. COBBETT'S LECTURES.

Our space does not admit of our giving this week more than one of the important lectures delivered by Mr. Cobbett, on the evenings of Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at the Fishamble-street Theatre. We give the first, that of Wednesday.

Mr. Cobbett made his appearance on the stage at seven o'clock precisely. He was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheers, which were continued for several minutes. Having taken his seat at a table in the centre of the stage, he rose in a few seconds afterwards, and thus addressed the assembly:—Gentlemen, I begin, as I ought to do, by expressing to you the pride and gratitude which I feel for the manner in which I have been received in Ireland. (Cheers). Gentlemen, my satisfaction is the greater on this account, because I know the effect which the manner I have been received in will produce amongst my countrymen in England, and which it is my most anxious wish to produce; that is, a most favourable impression in regard to this country; being perfectly

satisfied that by no other exertions but theirs will Ireland ever be delivered from the state she is in now. Gentlemen, when we were boys we read "the Seven Wonders of the World"; but of all the wonders of the world Ireland is the greatest, for here we see a country teeming with every good thing of every description: we see it teeming with food; we see that food sent into other nations, in many parts of the globe, and we see at home the people starving and in rags, and without ever partaking of that food which their country produces. I have for a long while been desirous to ascertain the causes of this state of things, and to try if this greatest of wonders could be unravelled. These causes, I repeat, I have long desired to know. Common humanity, the natural disposition of man not perverted, has led me to entertain that desire, now converted into a duty imposed upon me by my constituents, who have enabled me to take my place amongst those who make laws to govern Ireland as well as England. (Hear). Since then that duty has brought me here, it urges me to inquire into the causes of that distressed state, which is disgraceful as regards my own country (having the management of this), and deplorable as regards your country. The causes, I trust, I shall ascertain before I quit this country. I understand them pretty well now, and you are now assembled here to learn that nothing shall be wanting upon my part thoroughly to investigate what are the real causes of what are admitted to be evils great and notorious. It would be very easy for me to remain as I was, now and then uttering a word favourable to Ireland. (Hear, hear). I do not come here now to say this, without having a hundred times in print said before that which I say now. I do not come here to merit the character of a flatterer. (Hear, hear, and cheers). I came here for the purpose of describing your situation as it is, and I came here for the purpose, as it is also my duty, of offering to you my opinion with regard to the cause of those disgraceful evils affecting your country, and also of proposing a remedy to redress those

evils. (Hear). It would be presumptuous in me to present myself to you as an instructor or a teacher; no such thing. I stand before you as one who respectfully tenders his opinions, leaving their merits to be determined upon by yourselves; but, having a very anxious desire that you should think me right, and be ready to back me, and give effect to whatever I shall attempt to do, I hope you will not deem me presumptuous in thus standing before you to offer these opinions. (Hear and cheers). Please to consider that my experience is long, and must be very great; that I have had the opportunity of seeing the state of society in other countries; besides, I have had many opportunities of making a comparison between the state of society I have seen—recollect, too, that I have always asserted the rights of the working part of the people. (Cheers). I am not here assuming a new character, I am acting upon a principle which has ever actuated me; and, at all events, let it be remembered that I have no ambitious views to gratify, and no selfish motives to urge me on. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers). I have returned to the spot, near as I possibly could, where I was born. With whatever station I have, or ambition, and whatever literary fame there is about me, I have returned to that plough from which I started when I was fourteen years of age. (Hear, hear, and enthusiastic cheers for several minutes). I live now within six miles of the place where lie the graves of my father and mother, and it is my vanity to return and spend my time amongst those whose fathers or grandfathers were my playmates. I have returned, as nearly as I could, to the point from which I started, and I every day see the faces of those who know my humble origin, and can show the lowly grave stones of my parents. I am sure then I shall get the credit of not being actuated by any very ambitious or selfish motives. (Cheers). Gentlemen, in continuing to address you upon this wonder of wonders, of which I was speaking to you before, I should wish to look as sharply as we possibly can for the cause of this strange thing. What can possibly be the cause of it?

Remember also, gentlemen, that I am not here pleading the cause of clients who can fee me. I plead the cause of the poor, the needy, and the oppressed—those who cannot possibly give me a reward—I plead their cause (hear, hear)—I plead the cause of those who cannot express their thanks to me; and I will tell you more, of those who will never hear of my interference on their behalf, nor of my name. To the claim of disinterestedness I can at all events, pretend; and while I plead such a cause, please at least, to indulge me with silence and attention. (Hear). Let us look to the wonders I was speaking of with steady eyes, if we can; I am sure that no man who sees them can look on with a dry eye. (Hear). Let us look at them with this view particularly, to try if we can repair in part the evils that are in existence. (Hear). I have been part of my life, for eight years, in the colony of North America. I saw that colony settled after the rebel war; I was there in an English regiment myself; I saw the colony increase very fast; I saw the whole of the people for four years; I saw 260,000 persons who would have expired of hunger if it were not for the bread, if it were not for the meat, if it were not for the butter that came out of this island. Two hundred and sixty thousand persons there were fed by this country. Not a soul of that 260,000 that was not living better than those by whom the food had been sent out! I have seen the negroes in the West Indies, of whom so much has been said, and for whom there has been so much *tenderness* and *sympathy*, that I have seen 278,000 persons put their names to one petition calling upon Parliament to put an end to the *miseries* of the negroes; I have seen the food with which they were constantly fed for years; I have seen those negroes better fed than the people of Ireland; and I have seen that the food which they mostly received came from Ireland, from a people who had not as good food as was sent out to the negroes. I could never see the sense or justice of taxing the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the benefit of the owners of those negroes. I



voted against every penny of that grant from beginning to end. But if it were just in England (and I do not admit that it was) to give 20,000,000*l.*, to assume a tax of 800,000*l.* a year for the negro owners, is it not most unjust to refuse a tax which would keep from starving the people of Ireland? If it were just, and I say it was not, to give so much for the negroes, is there a God in heaven and shall we dare to say in his face that it is just in those who did that, to refuse food to those who are in a state ten thousand times worse than those negroes? Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, all the colonies of North America, except Canada, are fed with the food of Ireland. Is this wrong? No. Supposing we are to keep colonies (a question I shall not now discuss), it is not wrong in Ireland to supply them with food: but it is wrong when those who raise the food and supply others, have not a sufficiency for themselves. (Hear). England herself, why she receives food from Ireland; it is a great blessing to her that Ireland can supply her. Not only London itself, but all round about, is supplied by this country. Every country town in England has at this moment a supply of Irish flour, Irish meat, and Irish butter; and, curious enough, as it was only last spring I entered into possession of my present place, I had not time to make up my own bacon and pork, and my fellows are now eating Irish bacon. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers). There they are with their red cheeks, their fat round faces, their clean shirts, their Sunday clothes; they live well, and have their decent tablecloths, laid before them every time they eat their victuals. While this is the mode of the husbandman and artisan living in England, what, I say, can be the cause that those who raise the food in this country, and who send it over to the English farmer to eat, have not a morsel of food to put into their mouths? I saw the day before yesterday a mother with her four little children lying upon some straw, with their bodies huddled close together to keep themselves warm. I have written over to one of my labourers (and desired the printer

to circulate the letter round the parish), that if I find that George, the man who minds the cattle, should suffer them to have under them straw so broken and so dirty as that poor woman was lying upon, I would turn him out of the house as a lazy and a cruel fellow. (Cheers). Be assured that a statement like that cannot but be of service, and it ought not to be humiliating to you, because you do not govern yourselves. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers). I see I have touched upon a favourite strain. (Hear). Be assured that a statement like that is much more likely to spread among the working people of England, from whom you will receive more redress than you can ever hope for from flummery promises. (Hear, hear). The cause of this strange state of things must be altered. It can be altered and it must be altered, or else it is useless to talk about it. (Hear). The causes are numerous, some more distant, some more immediate; but there is one great cause of causes, without the removal of which, no matter what else you ask for, you cannot make Ireland what she ought to be. The real cause of her misery I will state hereafter; but let me now state what are the imaginary and partly imaginary causes, because in all cases like this the greatest possible evil may be committed in looking to that as a cause which is not a cause, and so long as that delusion exists the proper remedy cannot be applied. (Hear). Some things put forward as causes are merely assertion; some are partly founded in fact, and others appear to have great weight attached to them. For fanciful causes fanciful remedies have been suggested. (A person here called out "Oh, come to some cause." This interruption produced some confusion for some time, which was at length put an end to). I am sure, said Mr. Cobbett, if the gentleman is let alone, and has a mind to contradict me, a little reflection will show him that this is not a proper place to do it. Amongst these causes to which have been ascribed the present state of Ireland is this, that "the people are lazy, careless, and are wanting in trust-worthi-

ness." Another cause is, "the existence of the Catholic religion"; another "the refusal of Catholic Emancipation for a long time"; another "tithes"; another "the union"; another "absentees"; another "agitation." Now, gentlemen, I shall make a few observations upon these, and we will see whether it is possible that any of these, though some of them are important, yet we will try if any one of these, or any number of them, has produced the effects that we behold in Ireland at this time. (Hear, hear). As to "the laziness of the Irish people," "the laziness" and "carelessness"; never before did it come to pass that food was sent out of that country to feed another, in which the people were lazy and careless. As much corn, flour, cows, sheep, pork, bacon, beef, butter, are produced in Ireland, as cannot be matched by a like number of people in the whole world, England herself not excepted. These things cannot be created except by labour. It is impossible to produce them without labour, they are not spontaneous; and, therefore, the general answer at once to this charge is, that it is false. (Hear, and loud cheers). The people cannot, with justice, be accused either of laziness or carelessness. It has happened too, to me to have seen some Irishmen out of their own country. I have been told by one Irish gentleman, "Mr. Cobbett, you do not think it, but really the Irish do not like meat." (Hear, and laughter). "They like to have their cabins without a chimney, and that the smoke if it will go out at all, should only escape through the roof." (Laughter). I could not deny this, because it was said to be a fact; but then it is an unbelievable fact. My answer to it was this, I have seen the United States of America, and I have seen other colonies, I have seen Irishmen in those places, and I never yet saw them that they loved other food better than meat and bread; they did not like dirty clothes, they did not like filthy rags, but they liked to be well dressed. They have laboured successfully, and if I should say more so than

those of any other European nation in the United States, I should speak the truth. Besides, I have seen how they have risen to eminence in the United States, and to be persons of the first consequence there. A gentleman, recently from that country, who went over the names, assures me of this fact, that of that eminent body of men, the members of Congress, the one-third part are Irish, or men whose fathers were Irish, or the descendants of Irishmen. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers). It is then a false accusation to make against them to say that they are not industrious, and that they are wanting in trust-worthiness. They are not, God knows! wanting in literary acquirements, or in oratory; for if you were to take the one hundred Irish members out of the House of Commons, I wonder what sort would be the remaining 558. There would not be an equal number of men of talent for the one hundred Irishmen I can assure you. (Hear). But then it is said that it is "the Catholic religion that makes the Irish a lazy, slothful, and degraded people." This statement is a sheer slander; for what was England before the reformation but Catholic? What was England at the time she conquered France but Catholic? Why, England was Catholic when she possessed herself of Calais and Boulogne, and she was Protestant when she lost Calais and Boulogne. Every body knows that England was when Catholic a much greater country, comparing her with other countries, than she is now, though she drains Ireland to make her great. But why does not the Catholic religion make the Irish people lazy in America, unless this, that it is changed by crossing the Atlantic, and that the salt of that element takes all the vice out of it? (Laughter). There are sixty or seventy thousand Catholics in New York; the Catholics rule by their vote that great emporium of the United States; how comes it that these energies are so much increased there, if the Catholic religion itself makes people lazy here? It is the same always, and, however other religions may change, we know this of the Catholic, that it is the



same in all countries. (Hear). How is it that it has not produced similar effects in America that it has here? Why because the people have fair play: there is given full scope to their physical and moral qualities, and they are exerted there as they would be here, if you had the same species of government. (Hear and cheers). In England there are Catholics; there the Catholic tradesman is as successful as the Protestant. My belief is, that he is more so, and there is less of poverty amongst them than the Protestants. Now, a favourite object with me is the farm that I spoke of; and, as with things in which there is less real value, we are more fond of them, so it is the case with me, and it happened that in looking out for a person in whom I could confide, who would, I know, do justice to the labourers, take care of my house, my neighbours, and superintend every thing as if I were there; the person that I got to do all these things for me is a Roman Catholic. (Hear and cheers). In England I have got one that the Catholic religion did not spoil. But the accusation made is a falsehood, a slander; and I shall say no more of it, but proceed to the next thing assigned as a cause why the country is in its present state. (Mr. Cobbett next referred to the refusal of for so long a time of Catholic Emancipation, and which, although he admitted it was a glaring injustice, and tending to produce strife and heartburnings, was however not a sufficient cause for the present condition of the country. This indeed was proved by the simple fact, that emancipation was granted, and that still the grievances and complaints of the people of Ireland continued. As our space is limited we proceed to a more interesting topic). Next, said Mr. Cobbett, as to tithes. I petitioned Parliament for a total repeal of the church in Ireland. I petitioned for its absolute removal. I wished that England should be taxed so as to give Ireland a chance for the removal of the heartburnings that oppress her, and that she might have quiet and security. That I considered my duty, and I therefore petitioned to have it wholly removed.

I wished to have no pitch-patch work, and that there should be no misunderstanding about it. (Hear, hear, and cheers). But I must say, at the same time, that, removing religion out of the question, tithes laid on the land are no hardship; tithes are part of the expenses of the land. In England I pay 160*l.* rent to the landlord, and I pay to the parson 45*l.* or 55*l.*, I forget which, for tithes. Now, if I did not pay that to the parson, I should pay it to the landlord. There would be no difference in the sum, and it would be a benefit to me to pay it to the parson, if he lived in the parish, for he would employ somebody, and the people would have the benefit. When the people are of the same religion as the established church it is a folly to represent tithes as a hardship. In fact, the thing should be paid, and it was some benefit to have the little gentry beside so many great gentlemen. It is well to have to give it to the parson; for, if you gave it all to the squire, he would become too big, and would spend it all out of the parish, while the parson must spend some of it in it. This, however, does not apply to Ireland; for here the people are of one religion and the clergy of another, and, generally speaking, tithes create heartburnings, and lead to violence and crimes, and add to the misery already existing and arising from other causes. But let this be borne in mind, that supposing tithes and hierarchy were altogether abolished, still it would be short of having that accomplished which it is our duty to have done for the people. Next, as to the Union. I have certainly seen in the city of Dublin very great distress, such as could not exist if the country around it were prosperous. I only want the evidenced I have on this point, to be convinced that the misery I see here is general throughout the country, and that it must extend for many miles from Dublin: for a man would not look on the distress around him, he would not remain here to suffer misery, if he could go out of it. And here let me observe, that the whole of this misery could not be removed by what you look for, a national Parlia-

ment; for the misery existed here before the Union. (Cries of no, no). The misery was not, perhaps, to such an extent then; but no man will say, that before the Union Ireland was as well off as England, or as she ought to be. (Hear). Ireland was badly off before the Union, and if a Parliament were restored to Dublin, and it is my opinion, I will not say that it ought to have very great weight, when you have members so well acquainted with the country, but my opinion is, that the Parliament ought to be restored to Dublin. (Hear, and loud cheers). I repeat now what I said in my place in Parliament, and I say that it is impossible for any reasoning man to believe that eight millions of people will continue feeding another nation of ten or twelve millions, for you feed a great part of them, two millions at least, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the west of Scotland; it is not possible to believe that for a long time there will be peace or tranquillity amongst the eight millions held as a colony by the ten or twelve millions. (Hear, and cheers). I shall not now enter into the subject of the repeal of the Union, as enough of my opinions on that question are known to you; but if the alternative be adopted, if the Union were repealed, if your Parliament were restored to you, even if you had an Irish king or queen, yet, it is my opinion, unless there was a still greater measure to benefit the working people of Ireland, I will not say that your misery would be so great, but that there would be nearly as great a state of misery as there is at this moment. (Hear). Mr. Cobbett next referred to absenteeism, and said that he believed that the people where landlords did live were as badly off as where the landlords were absentees. (Several of the auditory cried out that he was wrong). That, he said, was his opinion, and they should not be angry with him for entertaining it; and if he found himself, after seeing the country, to be erroneous in entertaining the opinion, he would say so at a future time. Now, in his parish the landlord and the parson were both absentees. The landlord lived on another of his estates, the house that his

grandfather occupied he never visited, and as to the parson, God knows where he lived! (Laughter). Now they should be badly off in his parish if they had not a law which provided for the poor, deserted as they were by the landlord and the parson. (Hear). Why did not the landlords of Ireland reside here? It was bad taste in them not to do so; they crept about other men's estates in England, and hired a house for a year there, and had no one to respect them. Now there was some cause that kept the landlord from Ireland. (Hear, hear). He could tell them that which would put a stop to the misery of the people was the cause to be sought after. (Hear, hear). Agitation might give rise to many evils, but agitation which means "moving," must have something to move, and there must be a predisposing cause in the thing to be moved before it can be agitated. If the agitators had nothing to agitate, they would soon leave off agitating. (Loud laughter). He would defy all the agitators in the world to agitate the fellow who had got a good piece of bread and bacon in his mouth, and a barrel of beer to draw out of when he liked. (Cheers and laughter). Give the man something to eat, and he defied them to agitate that man. (Hear). As to whiskey-drinking, he certainly thought that was one great cause of the misery of the people here, but it was also an effect. (Hear). Lord Bacon said "there was no rebellion so dangerous as that of the belly." Now, why was it that the wretched class who pawned were the hungry, starving, shivering creatures here? Because the miserable feel that it is the only means of sustaining life. (Hear, hear, hear). Drinking never could be put an end to where there was excessive and unrelieved misery amongst the people. No laws could do it. The cause of the misery was, that those who work, and those were the majority of the people in every country, those who laboured had not what they ought to have, a due share of what they laboured for. (Hear). This should not be left to charity; there were as charitable people in Ireland as there were in England, and if it were



not for the law that no man should die of starvation, he believed the people would be in as bad a state in England as they were here. (Hear, and cheers). He was satisfied the great source of the evils of Ireland was the misery of the people, and the cause of that misery was the want of a law to ensure to them the due share of what they laboured for. (Hear, hear, and cries of "No poor-laws"). This, Mr. Cobbett continued, was a large question, and one that should be rightly considered in all its bearings. He said that they should pass such a law, and if such a law as he spoke of did not pass for Ireland, great and terrible must be the ultimate consequences. People could not continue to endure hardships and injustice for ever. (Hear). It was impossible for him to look at the numbers of poor and wretched persons, and consider them as suffering deservedly, and as guilty of crimes which deserved such punishment. The greater part of them must be innocent persons, and he conceived it the duty of those who could do so to aid them, and give to the poor widow and her children something whereby they could live. (Hear). This was his great object in visiting Ireland. He knew he could not succeed in that object until he had got the mass of the common people of England to support him; without this aid he knew he could do nothing, for the Government had never, in one instance, done a good thing that had not taken its spring from the common people of England. (Hear). Out of the eight millions of Ireland he believed that seven millions were suffering, and if there were not a change something dreadful would occur. This then was a subject of the greatest importance, and when they met again it was one into which he should enter freely, and discuss fully. He should propose, too, to take their vote upon it, and see whether their vote would be for or against his proposition. (Hear). That he considered was his duty towards the people of Ireland; it was the purport of his visit, for he wished that the tradesmen, the farmers, the property of Ireland, would petition Parliament for a legal

provision for the destitute. (Cries of hear, hear, and no, no). He should see whether they agreed with him in opinion or not. If they should not, he should lament it very much; if they should, it would give him a joy beyond any thing he could express. (Mr. Cobbett sat down amid loud and long-continued cheers from all parts of the theatre).

## GENERAL COCKBURN'S DECLARATION ON REPEAL.

(To the Editor of the Dublin Evening Post).

### THE FIFTH AND CONCLUDING LETTER ON THE PRESENT CRITICAL STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Shanganagh, 15. Sept., 1834.

DEAR SIR,—Our fine island, blessed with a good soil, hardy population, on the whole a healthy climate, and with numerous natural advantages, had we but quiet and civilization in every district; this island, so long presenting formidable difficulties to every Ministry, in continual agitation, discontent, and poverty, notwithstanding her productive land, requires a separate letter, and we may well ask, What is to be done?

Very difficult to answer, but being under a promise, I must endeavour.

I have already given a list of causes, but allow me to observe, that there are four leading points of vital importance, and on the settlement of which much, possibly all, will depend. They are,

REPEAL—TITHES—ABSENTEES—POOR-RATES.

I know, Mr. Conway, that you are a decided unionist, but you are an honest man, and do not object to the fair discussion of political subjects.

If I wrote for mere popularity, I should have declared myself a repealer long ago, and I verily believe but for my honest hesitation on that question, I should have represented Kildare.

After long and deep consideration I now avow myself to be most decidedly for repeal. It strikes me to be the first remedy for bringing peace and quiet and comfort to Ireland, and strength to

England. The immense quantity of English and colonial business before Parliament every session leaves no time to attend to Ireland. Neither are we fairly represented, for if England and Scotland, with a population of fifteen millions, have above 500 members, surely Ireland, even making liberal allowance for the greater wealth of Great Britain, with a population of eight millions, ought to have at least 200 members. And here again, if that were even granted, I say if the representatives will not attend they ought to vacate; and if they did attend, it would be next to impossible to manage or carry on business with such a body of senators as 750, and the more independent they were the greater would be the difficulty; I am, therefore, for repeal. Sir J. Barrington, in his last work, says, the union, which extinguished the pride and prosperity of the Irish nation, was a measure which (under the delusion of for ever guarding against a disunion of the empire) has taken the longest and surest stride to lead it to dismemberment, a measure which has excited interminable disgust, instead of invigorating attachment which was daily augmenting under the federative connexion. This, I believe, and if wrong in the opinion, it is an error of judgment, only; for my interest and wish is, that the two sister kingdoms should be united in heart and in government, under the same Sovereign, even allowing to England that influence which her superior power and wealth must naturally give her, if she will be only just to Ireland. I see but one objection to repeal, and which I have often heard used as an argument against it, viz.: that if we had it, Mr. O'Connell would nominate the Irish Parliament.

This I do not entirely believe, though I believe he would have great influence. No one can deny his splendid talents; and, giving him full credit for patriotism, honest intention, and whatever his greatest admirers please, I nevertheless say, even so, it would be most dangerous to allow such a power in any state to any individual,

To permit a subject to take on him-

self a dictatorship, or allow it to be concealed, would be most arbitrary, dangerous, and unconstitutional, nearly high treason, and could never be submitted to; and yet, by a series of the grossest mismanagement, ill-treatment, and insult to Mr. O'Connell, he has obtained a popularity and such influence, that we must allow there is some weight in the objection. It, however, proves that the Irish are grateful, and confiding in all those who suffer in their cause, or advocate the redress of their grievances, and if Mr. O'Connell was dead, and that the misrule of Ireland continued, some other individual might rise up, and stand precisely in his place, therefore England must begin with the old maxim, "be just and fear not."

I state the above at all risk of abuse, for in a country so divided as Ireland, where we have Orange Conservatives, Tories, Catholics, Protestants, Presbyterians, Moderate and Ultra Reformers, and Unionists and Repealers, it will be hard for me to escape the displeasure of some. I give my opinion honestly, but without obstinacy; I may possibly be mistaken, and if on fair discussion, I can be convinced that I am in error, I will candidly admit it and retract.

At all events, the thing cannot go on as at present, some change there must be, and I therefore say, that my first remedy as to Ireland is, "reconsider the Union Act," and whether its repeal will not be beneficial to England and Ireland, and instead of weakening, will strengthen and cement the connexion.

If, however, the Union were even repealed, it could only be conditional, as to terms.

The King of England, his heirs, &c. should be, *de jure*, King of Ireland.

The laws assimilated in both countries. No impediment to the commercial intercourse between the countries, which should be, as now, perfectly free. The army, and the civil appointments, not as formerly, left to a jobbing Lord Lieutenant and aristocracy; but as they constitutionally should be, with the King, or in plain words, with the cabinet or Prime Minister, so long as his Majesty or his successors chose to sub-



mit to the aristocratic invasion of those rights which positively belong to the King, and which, Radical as I am, I would maintain and defend.

I have no fear from giving the King his full rights, while the Commons have the safety-valve, the power over the supplies and the Mutiny Act; and all that would be further necessary would be, to leave Ireland to her own Parliament for all local matters, and as to our share of contribution fix the scale. Let it be declared what proportion of the general expenses of the empire Ireland shall contribute, and then leave the raising of that and all her own local expenditure to her own Parliament, and then I ask how can there be any collision between the two countries?

Ireland will never attempt separation, unless hereafter driven to it by a continuance of ill treatment; and as, in the mutation of events, she may become strong and England weak, then indeed she might make the attempt. But the peace and prosperity of Ireland, and our connexion with England, are of such vital importance to both, that we must hope the people of England will compel Ministers to seriously take these matters into consideration; for if the present system is persevered in, it will end in civil war, the calamities of which will be ruinous to both countries. The bad policy hitherto is past comprehension, and yet compare Ireland to other independent countries.

We alone are more rich, populous, and powerful, and raise greater revenue than Portugal, Bavaria, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, or any of the Italian or minor German States. Spain could conquer Portugal in three months, as England could Ireland. But the other European Powers restrict Spain. Now, might not a time come when England, possibly forced into an expensive war, and with two mill-stones on her, viz. the Debt and discontented Ireland, might not the European Powers, who are all jealous and hostile, take an advantage and say, as in the case of Spain and Portugal, Ireland shall be an independent state; and consider what might happen from America. But with Ire-

land heartily, as I hope she will soon have reason to be, attached to England, and, *de facto*, united in interest, we might laugh at, and defy all Europe.

I have, perhaps, enlarged too much on this subject, but I could say twice as much. Though it may appear a trifling circumstance, yet to show how Dublin has suffered by this union; before it, 500 opulent families spent their winters there, and comparatively none at present. Four hundred and sixty private sedan-chairs employed nine hundred chairmen, not one such chair is now in Dublin. But I beg to refer you to my Letter on Repeal, which appeared in the *Dublin Evening Post*, 18. December, 1832, as to this and other losses to Dublin and Ireland.

We next come to tithes: but I entered so fully into this subject in my Letter of June last, and published by you 10. July, that I refer you and your readers to it.

It would be as unjust to sponge the vested rights of the clergy, as to sponge the debt; but they both must submit to equitable adjustment, or their ruin will be inevitable.

There ought to be a new valuation of tithes as I have before suggested, and, deducting 15 per cent., payment should be enforced for the life-interest; and as present incumbents died a total new arrangement made. Five bishops would be quite sufficient, viz.: one each for Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and an archbishop. The entire staff of the church, as deans, archdeacons, &c., prebends, &c., should end, and all religions (after the death of the present incumbents) be left to pay their own clergy. Where one-half the population was Protestant, they should have the church, the parsonage, and the glebe; if two-thirds of the population were Catholic they ought to have it, and if Presbyterian, of course to them. A census of the population, distinguishing accurately the number of Protestants, Catholics, Presbyterian and other Dissenters, should commence all over Ireland on one and the same day, and might be taken in a week; and in order to show and convince the Protestants that they

had not only fair play, but even an advantage, I would leave out altogether all children under ten years of age.

I now come to absentees, a subject on which much has been written.

No one can contend that thousands, or even hundreds of gentry of all ranks quitting their country, giving up their establishments, and drawing their fortunes away, and spending them in foreign countries, is not a most serious grievance. Persons in the public service, or abroad for health (certified), or occasional gratification or improvement, and for limited periods, should not be considered absentees; but the case of nine out of ten of our absentees is quite different from this. In a free country it is difficult to meet the evil, and as so many of the aristocracy have large estates both in England and Ireland, they cannot live in one without being an absentee from the other.

I see but one remedy for this, even supposing the Union to be repealed, and that is, that under the very peculiar circumstances of Ireland, we must submit to some inconvenience, or call it restriction, just as we are obliged to submit at times to *Habeas Corpus* suspension or insurrection acts, &c.

I would therefore enact that for the next 21 years, all persons having an estate in Ireland to amount to 1,000*l.* a year and upwards, whether in fee, freehold, or deriving such income under any mortgage granted after the passing of such act, should be obliged to reside in Ireland four months in the year, or that their not *bona fide* doing so, should entitle every tenant or payer of interest, &c. to deduct ten per cent. annually from their several payments, one-half of which should go to the tenant or payer, and the other half to the poor, and to be so deducted every year in which there was not the four months residence.

POPULATION.—The absurdity of all emigration plans has been proved over and over. I have shown it in various letters, which have appeared in the *Post*.

Some repetition may be, however, necessary. I think Ireland might feed and employ double the number of our

present population. But population without employment, is a misfortune; poverty and crime must follow; not but that too great luxury also produces crime. The Irish peasant is accustomed to privation and hardships from infancy, and is a stranger to comfort or regularity.

Well-known causes have given us a pauper population. The very unsettled state of the country and the party dissensions, prevent men with capital from settling in our fertile island. The agrarian disturbances and the misgovernment complete the picture. Early and very improvident marriages, and the terrible drunkenness of the people, and the want of resident gentry, and the want of money, seem to render our case nearly hopeless.

Connected with population, come poor-laws. On this point, my opinions, whether worth any thing or not, have been repeatedly given and published in the *Dublin Evening Post*, and I cannot add to them. And on law, so necessary where there is population, I have had the presumption to write, over and over, and all I shall now say is, that its expense makes redress of injuries nearly impossible for the poor, and imprudent for the rich, to obtain or even seek.

In a pamphlet which I published in the year 1831—viz, "*Six Letters on Subjects very important to England*," and which any one may get in London from Mr. Walsh, Regent-street, or Mr. Milliken, in Dublin, for 3*s.* 6*d.*, which is less than the printing cost; I have fully entered into all these subjects, and have moreover shown, and I think proved, the possibility of getting rid of the greater part of the national debt without injury to any individual; and I have never been answered, if wrong. As to it, and all I have said in those six and in these five letters, I shall merely add, "*Vive vale, si quid novisti rectius istis candidus imperti; si non his utere mecum.*"

And, now, in conclusion, Mr. Conway, as you may ask me how I think all this will end? I answer that, as I greatly fear we shall not find any Ministers with courage to look these difficulties in the



face; and as indeed the wisest and best might not be *allowed to do so*, considering the numerous interests and opposition from the privileged orders, I confess I despair. The profligacy which will be resorted to to keep up the old system—the paper-money currency—public faith—all present difficulties and symptoms of a dissolution of our present government, in plain English, threatens revolution.

To prevent the latter, and to keep up the former, the Ministry, whether Whig, Tory, or mixed even with a few Radicals, will, I think, go on as long as they possibly can raise taxes to keep faith, and pay the establishment, civil, military, naval and colonial. When taxes fail they will borrow to make up deficiencies, and this will be carried on till it cannot be longer borne. Then they will make some reductions, and possibly reduce fundholders to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.—thus hold on a year or more. Next try the addition of an income tax, raised possibly by the bayonet, for a short time. Lastly, the state ship will go on the rocks, and be dashed to pieces. In the meantime England cannot go to war, but must submit to the kicks and insults of other nations.

Unforeseen events may hasten or defer such calamity. But it is folly to deceive ourselves. To Norfolk Petition (Mr. Cobbett's recommendation) with equitable adjustment, and real Radical Reform of every thing, and brought about if possible without any violence, and by legal means, through an honest House of Commons, backed by the people, or to revolution, per force, it must come; or, in the war of conflicting opinions, jarring interests, and intrigues, there will be a total overthrow of every thing, and, as Mr. Cobbett has foretold, our present state of society and government will be dissolved by a terrible convulsion. Mr. O.P.Q., whoever he is, has long warned and advised our great lords and rich gentry to think of their estates and chateaus in time, and I offer them the same advice.

For all these misfortunes we are indebted to the abhorrence which the

English Ministers, and aristocracy, and clergy have had to liberty.

The American war, or revolution, was the second act—for I look on the funding system of William III. to be the first. The war against the French Revolution, up to Napoleon's time, and which was purely against liberty, and to smother it in France, was the third act. From Napoleon becoming emperor, to the finale at Waterloo, and when the objects of the war were greatly changed, though still being against liberty, was the fourth act of this unfortunate state tragedy, which has left us with a debt of one thousand millions—a discontented people in England—a hostile people in Ireland, and a terrible increase of crime and poverty in both countries.

I now conclude with sincere hope and desire that the fifth act may (but *there is very little* time to lose) bring a cure to all our evils, and that the critical state of England and Ireland may be met by wisdom and honesty, and thus that we may once more behold England, Scotland, and Ireland, as they ought to be really, the envy and admiration of, and an example to, surrounding nations.

I am, dear sir, yours,  
G. COCKBURN.

## SPEECHES

OF 1834

MESSRS. ATTWOOD & SCHOLEFIELD.

J. SCHOLEFIELD, Esq., came forward, and was received with much cheering. He said under any circumstances he should feel embarrassed in addressing so large an assembly, but when he recollected that the men he was then about to address were the men who had carried the Reform Bill, who had stood forward to fight the great battle of national liberty; when he reflected that they were the individuals who had achieved by their courage, their patriotism, and perseverance, one of the most peaceable and extraordinary revolutions recorded in the history of any nation; when he reflected upon this, and saw the same courage and same spirit of independence manifested on

the present occasion, his embarrassment was diminished. His friend, Mr. Attwood, by requesting him to address them first on that occasion, had placed him in a difficulty, yet, on consideration, perhaps it might be an advantage, as he would not have to follow one possessed of far greater eloquence than himself. (Applause). It would be folly in him to conceal from them that it was the greatest pride of his life to be a representative for the borough of Birmingham, conferred upon him and his colleague, as that honour had been, without any unfair means having been resorted to by them to obtain it. Since their return to Parliament they had sat together in the House of Commons in many a small minority, (cheers), and felt greater pleasure in being thus situated, as it were alone in the House, than if they had been numbered in the majorities of hundreds by which the rights and liberties of the people had been sacrificed. (Cheers). Yes, he could say that he looked back with pleasure to his past votes, not one of which, he could confidently assert, had been given that had not for its object the welfare, happiness, and prosperity of the country at large. He claimed praise for his vote to repeal the Septennial Act, for his anxious desire to obtain the vote by ballot, and for his endeavours to abolish the horrid practice of flogging in the army. (Loud and continued cheers). It was only on the day before that he had read the minutes of the court-martial which had been held on the unfortunate man, Hutchinson, whose case had excited, and justly so, a strong sensation throughout the kingdom. On reading this account, he felt that it was a disgrace to any civilized nation, that men should be subject to the infliction of such inhuman punishment, for the commission of, comparatively speaking, such trifling offences. (Cheers). He had also, as stated by their chairman, voted for the revision of the pension list. He had been on a committee appointed to inquire into that list, and from all the information he could obtain respecting the parties upon it, his opinion was that it would not be justice to abolish it entirely.

Upon that list he found the names of persons deserving of consideration, but there were also those which never ought to have been enrolled, and ought not to be allowed to continue one hour. It was a disgrace to the Government which granted those pensions, and no less a disgrace to those who received them. (Cheers). The Government ought to direct their attention to the rich paupers particularly, as they had undertaken the unholy task of starving the poor paupers. (Cheers, and cries of shame). Once more he would say, it was a disgrace to the majority of those on the pension list, and so great, that there was not a man present, if situated as was the Duke of Wellington, who would not feel degraded at the idea of having even the most remote of his relatives a pensioner on the public bounty. (Cheers). With respect to the church-rates, the conduct of the Chancellor was the most trifling that could be imagined. He proposed to abolish those rates, but an equivalent was to be taken from the land-tax, thus still leaving them to pay, only in a different manner, this obnoxious impost. As to the Coercion Bill, he should feel proud, as long as he lived, of having voted against it. It was proposed to extend measures of relief to Ireland, and then, if order and peace were not restored, to adopt coercive measures; but, instead of doing so, they had resolved on coercing without relieving, than which, a more wicked and ineffectual mode of legislation could not have been adopted. (Cheers). With respect to the Poor-Laws Amendment Bill, if there was one act of his life calculated to afford him consolation, it was his vote on that iniquitous bill. To his dying hour it would be a satisfaction to him to know that he had opposed it (loud applause), and would also be a satisfaction to his children after his death to know, that the name of their father could not be pointed out in the majorities which carried that bill. It was impossible to look at that law without abhorrence. It was a law which went to deprive the poor of their most sacred and unalienable rights. (Cheers). Was it not a fact, that men of the



strictest morals, the most industrious and provident habits, were being daily thrown out of employment from various causes, over which they could have no control? Was it not a fact, that some of the most deserving characters in the community were daily being reduced to penury? And was it not a fact, that the object of the Poor-Laws Bill was to prevent such persons from receiving that support and relief in their affliction, to which they were entitled according to all laws human and divine? (Loud and continued cheers). As to the clause relating to bastardy, he should say but little. It was an un-English clause. The mind of Englishmen revolted at it, and justly so, for base indeed would be the man who would wish to throw the whole of the burden upon the woman. It had been said by many that the law of Elizabeth had given the poor greater claims than those possessed by the poor of any other country. He admitted it, and in place of viewing it as an argument against the law, he always viewed the privileges which it extended as being in favour of it, and calculated to reflect the greatest credit upon the country. The man who had devoted his strength to the good of the community, ought, in time of inability to labour, to be relieved by those who derived the benefit from his early exertions. He ought to be able to demand assistance as a right and not to beg it as an alms. (Great cheering). It was also said by those who advocated the bill, that ruin threatened the landlords, and hence was argued the necessity of destroying the poor. He (Mr. Scholefield) had consideration for the landlords, but he had also consideration for the great mass of the people of England. It was the duty of the legislature to protect the whole as well as the landlords. It was the Divine law that the poor should not perish, (applause), but it was now made the law of England that they should perish, (shame, shame), although those who had so enacted, could not find it in their hearts to remove the rich paupers from the pension list, upon which they have been living luxuriantly for years. (Applause). It was clear why they did not

interfere with the pension list. Their own families were living upon it, and hence it could not be touched. Why, he would ask, did they not put on a property-tax? (Applause). Why not make the rich pay for the support of the poor? Was it not better that the rich should pay, who could afford to pay, rather than the poor to famish? No; that they would not do, and it was with shame he was compelled to say he scarcely ever found one in Parliament who agreed with him on the propriety and justice of the property-tax. They ought to give a portion of their wealth, but they will not. The next subject upon which he should say a few words was, the corn laws. These laws, he considered, entailed upon the country the greatest difficulties it had to contend with. It was a tax of the aristocracy to ensure high rents at the expense of the poor. If they had protected the rights of the manufacturer, and consequent rights of the mechanic, they never would complain of the protection afforded to the landowner. It was quite clear that distress must continue until these laws were modified or abolished. If they wished for prosperity, they must insist either upon a total abolition, or a modification of them. (Applause). To effect this he should recommend them to establish a union; they well knew the force and power of union, and if they were to unite for that object, success would be certain. They had now unions of all sorts; they had lawyers' unions to protect their interests; the school-boys at Oxford had their union, and the Conservatives were uniting in all parts of the country; and amongst the latter had lately been figuring in Lancashire, a Mr. Hulton, of Peterloo notoriety. Now, he saw no reason, when every other class were uniting, why those who felt the oppression of the corn laws ought not to unite for their abolition. The trades' unions had been generally condemned, but, in his opinion, they were right so long as they confined themselves to the object which they professed to attain, namely, a fair remunerating price for labour, but when they endeavoured to effect that object, by interfering with

the rights and privileges of one another, he considered they acted wrong. He despised the master who would lower wages without sufficient cause; but he believed, although there might be some few individuals who would act so, yet, generally speaking, they were compelled to reduce from necessity. The scarcity of money was the great cause of their want of constant employment and good wages. It was to the accursed money laws they were to attribute low wages. They had a fine harvest, they had everything which could afford comfort to all classes, but there was a scarcity of money. The landlord, the gentry, the manufacturer, all were in want of money, and must continue so, until there was a change in the monetary system. His friend Mr. Attwood had been taunted for his advocacy of this change, yet the whole of his demand was nothing more than that the Government would let them have more money or less burdens. (Applause). They were at present in the hands of the Bank of England, who possessed the power to raise or lower the prices and value of property throughout the country. The power possessed by this bank he considered one of the greatest curses of the country. He hoped, however, that the time would soon arrive when Parliament would put an end to such a system. They had now a Parliament which showed some respect to the petitions of the people. A portion of each day during the sitting was appropriated to receiving petitions, and if petitions were not forwarded it was the fault of the people. The days of Pitt and Castlereagh were gone never to return. (Loud cheers). They could now meet and petition fearlessly, and he hoped the people throughout England would avail themselves of their privilege and do so. He hoped they would petition relative to *Peel's Bill*, which had not only reduced nineteen-twentieths of this great nation to distress, but had also affected almost every part of the world. If the people of England were but true to themselves, an alteration must be made in that bill. (Cheers, and three groans for *Peel's Bill*). Al-

though many of them did not understand the immediate workings of that measure, yet there was not one of them who did not feel the effects of it. In conclusion, his friend (Mr. Attwood) would make amends for him. (Hear, hear, and loud applause). They had never disagreed since they became their representatives; and in their efforts they had no other object in view but to defend the rights and liberties not only of the town of Birmingham and the country at large, but those of the whole world. (Loud cheers). He would now redeem the pledge he made when first they did him the honour to return him as their representative. He then promised that whenever a majority of his constituents should wish him to retire, he would do so. He was now ready to do so, if required, without entertaining the least fear as to the purity of the motives by which he had been actuated in his past conduct. (Loud applause). If, however, it was not there desire, he had no wish to abandon his post (cheers), although the hour of danger was coming on. The much-dreaded collision between the House of Lords and Commons, which used to make the people shake in their shoes, had arrived. He had been anxious for the arrival of that period which would try whether or not the many were to continue to be sacrificed to the few. (Loud cheers). If the House of Lords determined that they would oppose the will of the nation, it was necessary to let them see that the people were not to be frightened at them. Whenever the crisis did arrive he would fearlessly take his stand, backed, as he well knew he would be, by those whom he was then addressing. After some further pointed remarks, the hon. gentleman concluded amidst loud and general applause.

THOMAS ATTWOOD, Esq., then rose, and was received with enthusiastic cheering. He said—My dear friends and fellow-townsmen, I thank you from the bottom of my heart, for this renewed testimony of your confidence and esteem. I come from Parliament among you with much pleasure, but I cannot say that I bring with me the informa-



tion which a reformed Parliament ought to have enabled me to give. The last time I had the honour to meet you here at dinner, four years ago, the Duke of Wellington was then in power; we met in celebration of the glorious French Revolution, and I then said to you, "Show me twenty such dinners as these, and I will show you the governors of England." We have not been able to exhibit twenty such dinners, but nevertheless we have been able to make exhibitions, originating in the spontaneous patriotism of the English people, which have had the effect of shaking the late oppressors of their country from their unhallowed seats. I think I do no more than justice to you, as men of Birmingham, when I say that you were mainly instrumental in creating the general demand for reform among the people of England (hear, hear), and when that reform was endangered, it was you that placed yourselves at the head of the public mind, and speaking the voice of the nation, commanded its success. (Cheers). I will not congratulate you too much on the bill of reform thus obtained, because I know it has disappointed your expectations and mine. (Loud cheers). It has given us a House of Commons, but little better, I am sorry to acknowledge, than the old concern. Some few good men, it is most true there are in Parliament, but it is with deep and bitter regret that I acknowledge that the majorities have generally been as servile and as selfish as in former Houses. (Hear, hear). When I entered Parliament I expected to meet bands of patriots animated with the same interests as the people, feeling for their wrongs and oppressions, and determined to redress and relieve them. I almost regretted that I had had a hand in the reform, when I saw troops of sycophants and time-servers who seemed only anxious to regard their own selfish interests, and to destroy the very system of liberty and reform from which they themselves had drawn their existence. (Shame, shame). These gentlemen, you may well believe, were not very partial to me; they looked upon me in some light as a cow looks upon

another cow's calf, as a stranger out of place, a mere Birmingham tradesman, very disagreeable in their eyes. You must not be surprised that I received this kind of treatment. The House of Commons is divided into two great parties, the Whig and the Tory. To the former I had been mainly instrumental in assisting to do a favour too great for proud men ever to forgive; and to the latter I had been instrumental in assisting to do an injury which *interested* men could never forgive. (Hear, hear, and laughter). This treatment, however, had no effect upon me. (Loud cheers). I was obnoxious to them as a tradesman, I was obnoxious to them as a forward leader in political matters; and, above all things, I was obnoxious to both parties as having for twenty years denounced and exposed the frightful errors and crimes which they were committing. (Hear, hear). Nor have I had much better support from the public press. What I have said in jest has often been reported as in earnest, and what I have said in earnest has often been reported as in jest, and very often indeed have I never had any report at all. (Hear, hear). Now under these circumstances, it is certain we have done no great things; when any good has been to be done, we have been asleep or absent, but when an ill deed has been to be done, we have been as busy as the devil in a gale of wind. (Loud laughter, and cries of hear, hear). When we could have an opportunity of destroying the liberty, or preventing the restoration of the prosperity of the people, we have exhibited no lack of labour or industry, I assure you. If we could coerce Ireland, or oppress England, we have never tired in the disgraceful work; and no doubt, bad as the laws passed in the last session have been, they would have been much worse if an honest and patriotic minority had not struggled by day and by night against the oppression of their country. It is certain that we have done *some* good; we have softened the atrocious Coercion Bill of Ireland, and the equally atrocious Poor-Law Bill of England. These horrid instruments of fraud and tyranny, we have cut down to one-fifth

of their original and horrible dimensions, and I do in my conscience believe, that had it not been for our exertions, as an honest minority, in the House of Commons, you would yourselves, at this moment, have been engaged in a frightful civil war for the liberty of your country. (Hear, hear). This honest minority, in the face of all obstacles, and regardless of labour and sacrifice, continually warned the House of the gulf into which they were precipitating, and in this way the march of tyranny and madness was in some degree arrested. But for this we must have been at this moment involved in the fiercest state of anarchy and revolution. I can assure you that I have myself spared no labour in this great work of staying the march of tyranny and revolution. For four days in one week I was present in the House of Commons, with slight intermissions for food, from eleven o'clock in the morning until three o'clock the next morning. I could not leave my post for a moment without the danger of my being absent on some great division affecting the liberty and welfare of the people. (Loud cheers, and cries of hear, hear). It is certain the House of Commons is not what it ought to be; one half consists of lawyers, Jews of 'Change-alley, and monks of Oxford. (laughter); the other half consists of Lords and country gentlemen; too rich and too far removed from the wants and interests of the mass of the people to have any clear views respecting them, or any common feeling with them. Their cloud-born legislators, as I have often called them, are almost as bad as the Oxford scholars. Here and there are a few retired and sordid tradesmen, the worst enemies of the people, who, having escaped the squalls themselves, care but little for the tempest howling around the heads of their late rivals and competitors in trade; having climbed the ladder themselves, the first study of these sordid men is, to kick down the ladder, in order to prevent the possibility of their rivals emerging from the depths of poverty below. These men, the Oxford scholars, and the Jews of 'Change Alley, who have got their in-

fernal gripe upon the nation's throat, are most unwilling, and most reluctant to relax it. Ignorance, and interest, and passion, and prejudice, combine to make havoc with the best interests of the country. But what occasion have we for Oxford scholars who write Greek verses? who are skilled in all the useless lore of the ancients, but who know nothing of the wants, and modes of living men? What did *Washington*, or *Cromwell*, or *Napoleon*, know of Greek verses? *These are the men that England want*, and that England *must produce*, or be content to descend in the scale of nations for ever. (Loud cheers). In my opinion, my friends, we must have a further reform. (Loud applause). We ought to fall back, as I have often said, upon the ancient constitution of our country, that glorious constitution which gave shelter to our fathers, and the deep foundations of which were laid by the immortal Alfred a thousand years ago. (Cheers). We ought to have household suffrage, *triennial* Parliaments, wages of attendance for representatives, and I will add, vote by ballot, because the constitution in guaranteeing to us freedom of election, must necessarily have guaranteed to us the necessary means of the exercising of that great national right. (Loud and long-continued cheers). With regard to the wages of attendance, I think this to be a most important part of our constitution. Without this you cannot have the Commons of England properly represented in the House of Commons. You may have *rich men* to represent poor men, but you cannot have *Commons* to represent *Commons*. Now, are storks the proper representatives of frogs? or wolves the proper representatives of sheep? If they are, then are rich men the proper *representatives* of the *poor*. (Hear, hear). But in my humble opinion, neither storks, nor wolves, nor men merely rich, are the proper representatives of men struggling with the difficulties and uncertainties which hitherto always attend the industrious classes of the people of England. (Cheers). Parliament, however, is at present composed of men who are either



too rich; *too rich* to know the distresses of the people, or to have any common feeling with them; or of men whose circumstances expose them *to such temptations* that it is not to be expected that human nature should resist them. Here is my friend Edmonds for instance, our excellent and honourable chairman, in every way fitted to represent his countrymen in Parliament. Send him there to-morrow, and I will assert, that within twelve months he must *either resign or be corrupted*, or be ruined. For men without wealth, indeed, "to be in that House, is like being in the *jaws of hell*; it is "first to be tempted, and then to be betrayed." (Loud cries of hear, hear). It is for these reasons that I think the wages of attendance the *most important part* of the rights and liberties of the people. In my opinion, my friend, great changes are coming upon England, changes of vast moment to the prosperity or adversity, to the liberty or slavery of the people. It is the duty of all parties to make common sacrifices in this great crisis of their country's need. I would not advise the workmen to seek the ruin of the landholders, nor the landholders to degrade the workmen below the honest independence and the just reward of labour which their fathers have been accustomed to. Let the masters and the workmen also avoid discord; let them unite together, and, if possible, let them cordially coalesce with the ancient aristocracy of the country, whose interests are in reality but one with their own, and who have, for so many centuries, promoted the liberty and independence of their country. By this cordial unity between the ancient aristocracy and the industrious classes, the interests of both will be secured, and the common opposer of both will be broken down. That Jewish interest, which now lords it alike over the aristocracy and the people, which sacrifices alike the interests of the landlord, the profits of the trader, the manufacturer, and the farmer, and the wages of the mechanics and labourers, will be reduced to its proper weight and influence in the state. This was the system under which our fathers flourished. I am quite sure

it is in accordance with the character and genius of the English people, and I have not the shadow of a doubt that if we act upon it, it will yet secure to us a greater measure of liberty, prosperity, and glory, than ever our fathers enjoyed. I refer more immediately to myself. I have heard it represented that I am favourable to the impressment of seamen, and to the present cruel system of military flogging. All men that know me, know that I have no cruelty in my nature. I have, from my youth up, been the enemy of tyranny and injustice; and what justice can there possibly be in impressing seamen and compelling them to fight our battles against their will? The truth is, that Mr. Buckingham's motion in the last session, for abolishing the impressment of seamen, is my motion; I gave it into his hands the session before last. He then refused to adopt it, thinking it did not go far enough, but in the late session he brought it forward, and I voted with him in support of it. (Loud cheers). It went to the effect of abolishing impressment totally, except in cases of great national emergency, and for limited periods, not exceeding three months. (Cheers). With regard to flogging, I have only to say that I was the first man to bring before the House of Commons the atrocious case of the soldier Hutchinson, who was tortured so cruelly a few weeks ago. (Loud applause). I feel that I need say no more upon this subject. I now come to the horrible Poor-Law Bill, which of all things I must notice. We have been told in high quarters, that it is absolutely necessary "to save the estates" of the nobility and gentry. Now look at the facts: the poor-rates of England for the last year amounted to only 6,700,000*l.*; the rental of England amounted to thirty millions sterling. (A voice in the crowd exclaimed "thirty-two millions"). Well, thirty-two millions; now the wildest imagination cannot conceive it possible that this atrocious bill should reduce the poor-rates more than one-half, which is about three millions sterling; I ask you as I have asked the House of Commons, how is it possible that the saving of three millions should produce the safety

of thirty-two millions? Be assured, my friends, there is something more in this than meets the eye or the ear. I will explain it to you. The agricultural report shows the wages of agricultural labour in England to amount to about forty millions sterling per annum, or to about 12s. or 14s. per week for each labourer's family. The wages of the Irish labourers, it is well known, do not exceed 4s. per week. A great number of the agricultural labourers of England derive only 6s. or 7s. per week for their wages, but the remaining 5s. or 6s. per week is made up to them, as in justice it ought to be, by what is called the allowance system. Now this horrid Poor-Law Bill expressly deprives all able-bodied labourers of all possible relief of this nature; it positively refuses all relief to such labourers, except upon the hard conditions of forcing them into great dungeons, where the husband is to be separated from the wife, and the children from their parents, and all are to wear badges of slavery upon their shoulders. (Loud cries of "Shame, shame"). This is frightful power, and the horrible duty which is intrusted to the Poor-Law Commissioners by this galling bill. And now mark the object of this measure, which will give you a glimpse of the way in which it is really intended, that the estates of the nobility and gentry are to be preserved. The able-bodied labourers will never submit to be treated in this murderous and disgraceful way; they will, therefore, refuse all parish relief upon such terms, and it is thus that they are to be forced, hungry and naked, into the markets of labour, with 5s. or 6s. per week only to exist upon, in order that they may thus force down the prices of English labour to the Irish level! You are aware that in this way the agricultural wages of England would be reduced from forty millions per annum, to much under twenty millions per annum; and here you will perceive a pretty round sum of full twenty millions per annum to assist in saving the rentals and estates of the landowners! twenty millions saved in this way may do something towards saving the thirty millions of the

landed rental, but three millions can do nothing. (Hear, hear). This, then, is the real and ill-concealed object of the Poor-Law Bill; I stated to the House of Commons, and no one contradicted me; and I am confirmed in this view, because I heard Mr. Cobbett assert in that House, in the presence of the Ministers, that he had the best authority for saying that the instructions from Government to the Poor-Law Commissioners contained the expression of an opinion that it was desirable to bring the labourers of England to live upon coarser food. I never heard the Ministers deny the truth of this terrible fact. I believe they did not deny it. Here, then, we come to a pretty good proof that the grand object of the Poor-Law Bill is to break down the wages of English labour, and to reduce the comforts of English labourers, in order that, out of the plunder and degradation of these honest and good men, the rents of the landlord may be preserved from that necessary fall to the continental level which the momentary measures of the Government have imposed. It is singular that Ministers should think of coarser food for the people of England. I went to Parliament, as you know, principally for the purpose of giving them better and more food than they have been latterly accustomed to. The agricultural report complains that the price of agricultural produce is not remunerating, because the people cannot consume the food so fast as it is brought to market, and yet we are now told it is necessary to reduce the consumption of food still further. Is this madness, or is it mere folly? Is it not madness, as well as guilt, to attempt to reduce the consumption of food at the very moment when the labourers have been put upon short allowance, and the farmers are every where complaining of the want of a market? All I have to say upon the subject is this, we have had good food before us to-day, bread, beef and beer, such as our fathers have been accustomed to; may the people perish if ever they submit to be placed, generally, upon a worse allowance. (Loud cheers). The old poor-laws are, u



doubtedly, the *Magna Charta* of the working classes; they give protection to the people, and Blackstone and all the great lawyers declare that obedience is only due from the people in exchange for protection from the Government. The land is the people's farm, in which the landowners have only a limited interest; they have inherited or bought their estates, subject to the proper maintenance of the poor, and they have no right to shake off that burden, in order to protect their rents. The right of the labourer is prior and paramount to that of the landlord; no rent ought or can be justly paid in England, until the wants of the labouring population, giving honest labour in exchange for bread, are provided for. (Applause). This has been the law of England for nearly three hundred years; and for centuries before the barons of England were bound by law to maintain their vassals. What, then, is this new madness which attempts to shake off a right which has existed for so many centuries and which is coeval with the very foundations of society itself? Now, I will give you one or two cases of hardship and oppression, which have already come under my own eyes. A friend of mine, in London, had an honest and faithful servant, who, for twenty years, had paid 12*l.* per annum for poor-rates and taxes; the other day he died suddenly, of cholera, after twelve hours' illness, and his widow, with five children, is now denied all relief from the parish, unless she will go with her children into a parish gaol. (Loud cries of shame, shame). Is not this a fraud upon this poor woman? Ought not the parish to give back the 12*l.* per annum which her husband has paid for twenty years? or could they not, at least, have allowed her a small contribution to assist in maintaining her who has so long assisted in maintaining others? Again, an old man, of good character, whom I have known for many years, has been regularly allowed 2*s.* 6*d.* per week to support himself and his wife, both upwards of eighty years of age, in my parish of Harborne. The parish, a year ago, came to the resolution of shutting up the workhouse, be-

cause it was more expensive to maintain the paupers *in* the workhouse, than *out* of it, as well as more painful to those unhappy persons, the paupers themselves. The Poor-Law Bill has now compelled them to act upon a different system, and they have now withdrawn the 2*s.* 6*d.* per week from this old couple, and insisted upon their coming into the workhouse, where they will cost the parish 6*s.* per week, instead of 2*s.* 6*d.* (Hear, hear). To say no more upon this painful subject, I must now say, that from the first moment I entered Parliament, I have been impressed with the conviction that a conspiracy has existed, and does exist, between the Whigs and Tories to defeat the bill of reform. One of these days I fully expect they will try what is called a "*coup d'etat*," or a great outrage upon the constitution. If this should be the case, I trust, my friends, you will be prepared. The people of England must never submit to an atrocity of this kind, and be you assured that whoever may be the Minister who may attempt it, he will shortly meet the fate which he deserves. We shall see him grinning, like Polignac, through the bars of a prison, although, I trust, the generosity of the English people would never suffer him to continue in prison *quite* so long. (Cheers). I must now say a few words about centralization, which, being interpreted, means tyranny of the blackest kind. The combination of Whigs and Tories has produced the Coercion Bill for Ireland, and the Poor-Law Bill for England. Both tend to degrade and oppress the people, to make them nothing, and the Government every thing. (Great cheering). Then look at the new banking system, and the Savings' Banks, and the Benefit Societies; all these are gradually and secretly twisted in and brought under the influence of the Government. They induce the the Savings' Banks and the Benefit Societies to embark their all in the Government boat, and then, if any slight movement of the people takes place they will cry out the boat is in danger, and will call upon the people to come to their assistance! In this way, they will get, as it were, a claw

in every man's pocket. And look, again, at the *new police*, that fearful engine of Bourbon tyranny, which both Whigs and Tories are continually striving to extend throughout England. I told the House of Commons that the men of Birmingham would *fight*, but that they would never *submit* to the new police. (Never, never). To revert to the character of the House of Commons, I dare say that you expect that I and my honourable colleague could have done more than we have done. We could not. We were but two persons out of 658, and though we found a few good patriots among them, I am sorry to say that those good men are like the wheat in the Holy Scriptures, overgrown and smothered by the tares. Upon one occasion, I gave ample notice and attempted to bring forward a question of immense importance to the happiness of the people. Among other things, I was prepared to prove that the House of Commons had literally given the enormous sum of 372 millions sterling of heavy sovereigns to the holders of Three per Cent. Consols. Observe, this is more gold than the wide earth contains, above ground and under ground. The moment I brought forward the subject about 200 members rushed out of the House as if I had thrown a serpent upon the table; these gentlemen understood the subject pretty well you may be assured, or at least 190 of them would have had a most sincere pleasure in exposing the error or absurdity of my arguments. They knew full well what my arguments would be, and they knew equally well that no human reason could controvert them. Many of them, no doubt, were *tarred* with the same brush (as the Americans call it). Some of them were probably among the number of those who drink the toast, "Old England, those who don't like it, d—n them let them leave it." (Laughter). They never say those who ill-use it, d—n them, kick them out of it (laughter and cheers); but having pocketed the plunder themselves, they conscientiously believe that *Old England* is still the happiest nation upon the earth;

in short "the envy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world." (Laughter). Now, my friends, these gentlemen are no fools, I can assure you; or, if they are so, it is only through the blindness which self-interest sometimes causes. They understand things pretty well; they know that the great question at issue is, whether their *gripe* upon the people's throat shall be relaxed or not? (Hear). In my opinion it will be relaxed; and I rely mainly upon the old aristocracy of the country. These ancient nobles are now all ruined, unless they come forward and assist the people in shaking off the common yoke which oppresses all. I believe, therefore, that they will join the people. The cabinet also has been lately much improved: such men as Mr. Ellice, Mr. Spring Rice, Sir John Hobhouse, Lord Duncannon, and Mr. Abercromby, are very different men from Stanley and Graham. They have never forfeited any pledges to the people; they understand the situation of the people; they have every interest and every inducement to excite them to do justice to the people. I entertain, therefore, great hopes that a better day is about to dawn upon our country. (Loud cheers) I must now close with a few words respecting myself. You all know that I entered Parliament with reluctance; I had studied the situation of the country for twenty years; I had foreseen and foretold every fluctuation of national adversity or prosperity which had occurred during that period; and I thought it my duty to obey your orders, and render you every possible assistance in my power. I have obeyed your orders, and have done everything in my power, without fear or affection, favour or reward, during two years. I have incessantly dinned the truth into the ears of the House of Commons, and in my conscience I believe that three-fourths of that House, if the truth could be known, entertain opinions very nearly analogous to my own upon the great question of the national prosperity and adversity. (Cheers). In the meanwhile I have incurred much expense and much injury from the loss of time, and I think I



should do wrong if I did not inform you that I entertain serious thoughts of resigning the situation which I hold. (Loud cries of "No, no"). You must look out, therefore, for a stork or a wolf one of these days, and I sincerely wish you may succeed in finding a real representative of the people, more efficient than I have been. I have told you that I think the present Ministers will endeavour to bring things round, and to make the people prosperous and contented; but it is a narrow and dangerous course which they have to steer, and it is possible they may "slip stays" in their course, to use a nautical term. In this case it is not impossible that Mr. Cobbett myself, or perhaps both of us, may be called upon to assist in saving the national vessel from destruction. But if the present Ministers should succeed in restoring the national happiness and contentment, which I sincerely hope may be the case, if they should succeed in giving prosperity to the manufacturers, farmers, and workmen of the United Kingdom—in this case there can be no doubt that both Mr. Cobbett and myself shall have a great triumph. Mr. Cobbett will set up his Gridiron, which will be to him a monument of eternal glory. I shall have no monument but the sight of a happy and contented people. I shall retire from your service with uncontaminated hands, and I shall carry with me to my grave the gratifying reflection that I have done everything in my power to assist in the great work of restoring liberty, prosperity, and glory, to my country.

*From the LONDON GAZETTE,*

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1834.

#### BANKRUPTS.

**BENTLEY, J.**, Cheapside, silk-warehouseman.  
**BEITELEY, J.**, Liverpool, plumber.  
**COMER, W.**, Liverpool, cotton broker.  
**DYBALL, D.**, Cambridge, oilman.  
**ECCLES, W.**, Union-court, Old Broad-street, apothecary.  
**HOLL, J. M.**, W. Oswald, and **H. Hoar**, Featherers-court, Milk-street, Irish linen factors.  
**MILLER, M.**, Sackville-street, Piccadilly, hotel-keeper.  
**WELLS, S.**, Wood-street, Cheapside, hatter.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 30.

#### INSOLVENTS.

**DEAR, C.** and **J. J. M. Richardson**, Cheapside, warehousemen.

#### BANKRUPTS.

**BINNS, M.**, Harrowgate, Yorkshire, inn-keeper.  
**DEACON, J. W.**, Barnock, Northamptonshire, maltster.  
**KINGSTON, T.**, Bristol, cabinet-maker.  
**LEWIS, J.** and **S. Palmer**, Coventry, drapers.  
**MARTYN, J.**, Callington, Cornwall, ironmonger.  
**MOGRIDGE, E.**, Tipton Mills, Devon, miller.  
**NORTON, T. F.**, Stoke Newington, boarding and lodging-house-keeper.  
**SHARMAN, J.**, Ringstead, Northamptonshire, miller.

#### LONDON MARKETS.

**MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Sept. 29.**—We had a fair supply of Wheat from the home counties to this morning's market, which with the quantity left over from Friday, caused the stands to be well filled with samples. Except the selected parcels of Wheat, particularly white qualities, which are scarce, the millers exhibited little or no inclination to purchase. The finer samples realized fully the rates of Monday last, but all other descriptions were nearly unsaleable, though a reduction of 1s. per quarter would have been submitted to, and in consequence, at the close of the market, the clearance effected was very limited. The inquiry for bonded Wheat, which still partially exists, is confined to low-priced qualities, chiefly Kubanka.

The supplies of Barley continue to increase. Fine Chevalier samples sustained no alteration in value, but middling qualities of malting as well as grinding sorts, hung on hard at a reduction of 1s. per quarter.

The Malt trade remains extremely heavy, and full 1s. lower than this day week.

The demand for Rye for seed, has subsided, and the article dull, at 36s. to 38s.

The supply of Oats, although not large, was more than adequate to the demand; consumers and dealers still refraining from purchasing, in anticipation of larger arrivals. Good fresh old Corn however was saleable at last Monday's rates, but new feed barley maintained the previous rates. Purchases of New Irish Oats free on board were made on rather lower terms, the accounts from Ireland generally stating a reduction of 3d. to 6d. per barrel, except on the finest qualities of black and white samples.

Beans met with little attention, and must be noted 1s. cheaper.

The supplies of White Peas consist almost entirely of foreign qualities, which might have been purchased at 1s. less money; Grey also were fully 1s. lower.

The Flour trade is extremely dull, and ship qualities with difficulty maintained last week's quotations.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	42s. to 45s.
— White	50s. to 54s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 50s.
— West Country red	40s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	44s. to 50s.
— Northumberland and Berwickshire red	36s. to 44s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 46s.
— Moray, Angus, and Rothshire red	37s. to 40s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 45s.
— Irish red	34s. to 38s.
— White, ditto	36s. to 40s.
Barley, Malting	31s. to 34s.
— Chevalier	35s. to 36s.
— Distilling	28s. to 30s.
— Grinding	27s. to 29s.
Malt, new	—s. to —s.
— Norfolk, pale	52s. to 60s.
— Ware	58s. to 62s.
Peas, Hog and Gray	33s. to 38s.
— Maple	37s. to 41s.
— White Boilers	37s. to 43s.
Beans, Small	38s. to 40s.
— Harrow	33s. to 36s.
— Tick	31s. to 34s.
Oats, English Feed	22s. to 24s.
— Short, small	22s. to 25s.
— Poland	22s. to 25s.
— Scotch, common	24s. to 25s.
— — Potato	25s. to 27s.
— — Berwick	24s. to 26s.
— Irish, Galway, &c.	21s. to 22s.
— — Potato	23s. to 24s.
— — Black	22s. to 23s.
Bran, per 16 bushels	11s. to 12s.
Flour, per sack	40s. to 43s.

#### PROVISIONS.

Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	42s. to 62s.
— Single ditto	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland	50s. to 60s.
— Cumberland	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, September 29.

This day's supply of Beasts was rather numerous, and of fair average Michaelmas quality; its supply of Sheep, Lambs, Calves, and Pigs, but limited. Veal sold with some degree of briskness, at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; but with Beef, Mutton, Lamb, and Pork, trade was dull, at Friday's quotations.

#### THE FUNDS.

1 per Cent. } Fri. Sat. Mon. Tues. Wed. Thur.	
Cons. Ann. }	90½ 90½ 90½ 90½ 90½ 90½

93, FLEET-STREET,  
Near the avenue to St. Bride's church.

**SWAIN & Co.**, Clothiers, Tailors, and Drapers, gratefully acknowledge the almost unprecedented support with which they have been honoured by the public; and beg to say that nothing shall induce them in any way to relax in their exertions to retain that patronage with which they have been so kindly favoured.

As **SWAIN & Co.** manufacture their own woollen goods, they are able to supply gentlemen's clothing at a much lower price than they can be procured for at any other house in the trade.

*The following is a List of their Prices for Cash:*

Superfine Coats, of Fashionable Colours, from patent finished Cloths	£. s. d. 2 10 0	£. s. d. 3 5 0
Ditto, Blue or Black	3 5 0	3 15 0
Extra Saxony Wool, Blue or Black	3 13 6	& upwards
Superfine Frock, with Silk Facings	3 10 0	4 0 0
Ditto Trowsers	1 0 0	1 10 0
Summer Trowsers	0 14 0	1 1 0
Kerseymere Waistcoats	0 12 0	0 14 0
Marseilles Ditto	0 8 0	0 10 0
Valencia and Toilenet	0 10 6	0 14 0
Silk Ditto	0 16 0	1 0 0
A Suit of Livery	4 4 0	4 10 0

Naval and Military Uniforms, Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, Children's Dresses, Shooting Jackets and Hunting Coats, Camlet and Plaid Cloaks, Witney Wrappers, and every other garment equally cheap.

Export orders punctually executed.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

#### THIRD PATENT FOR THE PERRYIAN PEN.

INDIA-RUBBER-SPRING PEN, superior in flexibility to the Quill, nine, with holder	s. d. 2 6
FOUNTAIN PEN, warranted to Write MORE than FIFTY lines with ONE dip of INK, nine, with holder	3 0

All the other sorts of the PERRYIAN PENS at the usual prices.—Sold by all Stationers and Dealers in Metallic Pens, and at the Manufactory, 37, Red Lion-square, London.

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